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ABSTRACT

To answer the questions of whether the pioneer effort and subsequent differences in lifestyles affected sex-role stereotyping in newspapers in 1885 and whether a widely perceived difference in role expectation was evident in the popular writing of the times, a study examined the differences in sex roles reflected in popular journalistic portrayals of two distinct modes of living. These two modes were the settled, stylized city life of the East and the turbulent, sometimes dangerous, and frequently arduous life of the western pioneers. The year 1885 was chosen because it marked a pivotal period in the social perception of women in both the East and West. The "New York Times" and the "San Francisco Chronicle" were chosen because they were typical of the era, readily available, and are still in publication. A total of 180 stories were randomly selected and sampled pertaining to women or men 18 years of age or older. Findings revealed that (1) numerical analysis of individual signifiers indicate that the pioneer experience did serve to broaden societal perceptions and awareness of women as functioning entities; and (2) greater environmental stresses of western migration, which necessitated a broader distribution of survival activities between the sexes, influenced journalists to write about women in more serious and respectful tones even though topics of discourse remained essentially the same. (Seven notes and five tables of data are included, and 85 references are appended.) (MS)

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Sex-Role Stereotyping in Two Newspapers of 1885: The Influence of the Pioneer Effort

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Sex-Role Stereotyping in Two Newspapers of 1885: The Influence of the Pioneer Effort

On March 1, 1885, the New York Times published a front-page story called "Miss Villers Contract: Expert Testimony Regarding a Chorus Girl's Abilities." In it, Villers was described as "a blonde of the established and normal British theatrical type, with glossy golden hair, vermilion lips, pink and cream complexion, and white teeth..."

In that same year, on the other side of the U.S., the San Francisco Chronicle published a story in which a woman's appearance was neither "established" nor "normal," and her physical attractiveness was not extolled in any manner, as can be seen below. The story (on page 3 of the July 23, 1885, issue) was headlined "She Got a Seat: They Did Not Know How to Treat a Lady" and described a woman who had difficulty obtaining a seat on a street car:

> "The woman's face was flat as though made out of muddy paste, with one cheek-bone considerably higher than the other. A thick nose and a wide mouth with bluish-black lips made picturesque the lower part of the face, and nature had enveloped it all with a dark yellowish, freckled skin."

(She finally "took a seat on the lap of a 300-pound German passenger.")

Both women are measured by the stereotypical criterion of "attractiveness" (albeit on opposite ends of the spectrum), but the western story has a humorous approach to sex-role stereotypes and their responsibilities. Is this indicative of a difference in social perceptions, or is it just another example of the wordy, over-written styles of the late nineteenth century?

There is some evidence to suggest that women of the West were seen as distinctly different from those in the East (Morse 1959; Riley 1980; Schlesinger 1981).[1] The rigors of the pioneer effort demanded that every person contribute; women learned, among other things, to hitch wagons, drive teams of cattle, set trap lines, sharpshoot, and build sod houses and log cabins (Brown 1958; Flexner 1975; Lucetti and Olwell 1982; Fairbanks and Sundberg 1983). Luchetti and Olwell (1982) note that by 1890 women worked in 216 of the 300 occupations listed by the Federal Office of Opportunity and that "in the West women experienced an autonomy never before dreamed of."

On the other hand, most of the accounts of women involved in traditional male roles are recorded in diaries and journals. The women who were motivated and sufficiently literate to

keep diaries in 1885 may not have been representative of the general population. Recent studies suggest that in fact most pioneer women held tightly to the "feminine" qualities that characterized their eastern counterparts (Faragher and Stansell 1975; Griswold 1979; Jeffery 1979; Kolodny 1980; Wolloch 1984).

The question that arises is whether the pioneer effort and subsequent differences in lifestyles affected sex-role stereotyping and whether a widely perceived difference in role expectations is evident in the popular writing of the times.

Histories of "women in journalism" focus on female journalists, rather than attitudes expressed toward women in nineteenth century newspapers.[2] Historical writers have concentrated on isolated primary sources such as diaries, letters, and photographs, as well as government and suffragist documents (Stewart 1961; Flexner 1975; Degler 1980; Stratton 1981; Luchetti and Olwell 1982; Schlissel 1982).[3]

This article examines the differences in sex roles reflected in popular journalistic portrayals of two distinct modes of living: the settled, stylized city life of the East and the turbulent, sometimes dangerous, and frequently arduous life of the western pioneers.

HYPOTHESIS

In spite of the contradictory judgments of some historians, it was hypothesized that western women were perceived as more autonomous and less confined by stereotype than eastern women and that this difference in social identity was reflected in the language choices of the journalists of 1885. It was further hypothesized that this difference would manifest itself in the nouns and adjectives chosen to describe women and men in the newspapers of the times.

The pioneer experience changed the people who participated in it. Schlesinger (1981) calls pioneer women a "community set apart by ordeal and survival."

The "cult of true womanhood" prevalent in the late 1800s (Gordon and Buhle 1976) did not extend as strongly into the territories. The ideal of the "true woman" was a Victorian notion that a woman's rightful sphere was the home, where she was the moral model of Godliness to her husband and children (Degler 1980). Eventually, the "true woman" stereotype evolved into such a restrictive one that acceptable activities were confined to decorous embroidery, piano playing, and perhaps a little watercolor painting. Gardening, even in gloves and veil, was considered too strenuous a pastime. This eastern ideal contrasted strongly with western stereotypes: "the pioneer in petticoats, madonna of the prairies, or calamity jane" (Riley 1980).

Suffrage laws in western states were another indicator of independence from traditional roles. The right to vote was extended to women by many western territories as they entered the Union (Morse 1959), while women in the East waited another two to four decades. Territories entering the Union with women's suffrage included Wyoming in 1890, Colorado in 1893, Utah in 1895, Idaho in 1896, and Washington in 1910. California gave women the right to vote in 1911; Kansas, Oregon, and Arizona in 1912; Nevada and Montana in 1914.[4]

METHODOLOGY

Examining sex-role stereotyping in eastern and western newspapers required that a series of choices be made. First, an appropriate period was chosen based on historical events. Second, two newspapers were chosen from which to draw samples of popular writing. Except for their disparate locations, the papers and their home cities had to be similar enough to ensure that any differences were a function of societal perception rather than journalistic environment. It was also necessary to select newspapers whose references to women were not governed by stylebooks. Stories about men were included to provide a point of comparison and to monitor complementary changes in male sex roles.

Criteria for random sampling and the types of stories to be sampled were also required. Nineteenth century newspaper stories cannot be as easily categorized as the features, hard news, human interest stories, and editorials typical of present-day newspapers, so article selection criteria were developed.

Journalistic attitudes toward sex roles were then interpreted by counting key words and measuring how frequently descriptors fit categories traditionally used to define sex roles.

The year 1885 was chosen because it marks a pivotal period in the social perception of women in both the East and West. In the East the suffrage movement, which had been given impetus during the Civil War by northern women's nursing and military supply organizations, slowed after the war. In 1868 two separate feminist organizations were created that later brought the first general women's suffrage rights in the U.S. to Wyoming in 1890. About 1885, the abolitionists, who had long backed "suffragettes" with both political and monetary support, withdrew to concentrate on the black men's problems in the Reconstructionist South (Flexner 1975, pp. 41, 146), which weakened the suffrage movement in the East.

The Newspapers/The Cities

The New York Times and the San Francisco Chronicle were chosen because they were typical of the era, readily available and still in publication. More importantly, however, these newspapers were very similar in 1885, making them good sources for comparative study. Neither paper restricted its choice of language with journalistic stylebooks. Each competed with numerous local dailies, a situation common in major cities at the time. The Times, for example, competed with the Evening Telegram, the Herald, Pulitzer's World, the New York American, the Mail and Express, and the Daily News, while the Chronicle competed with the California Star, the San Francisco Bulletin, the Call, George Hearst's Examiner (not yet in the hands of William Randolph), and the New York Herald and Tribune, whose California editions were sent by steamer around the Horn or by overland stagecoach (Swanberg 1961; Emery and Emery 1984).

Examining papers that were both written in an urban setting also minimizes the bias inherent in sampling from two different sources in two different locales. This was considered more important than the possibility that the pioneer influence might be stronger in rural areas.

The two environments that spawned these articles were, in fact, quite similar in several respects, although the East had a propensity for belittling the West, evidenced in this 1884 Philadelphia Call article on "Western Etiquette:"

> If you shoot a man by mistake for someone else it is positively required that you call on the family immediately after the funeral and apologize..."

San Francisco was nonetheless seen as the "New York of the West." In 1885, the city boasted of its new opera house, called Ina Coolbirth the "poet laureate of California," and claimed a proprietary interest in Ambrose Bierce, Jenny Lind, and numerous gold mines. Altrocchi (1949) describes in detail the visits of marquises and princesses, lords and generals, yachts and steamships, as well as such local attractions as the "dilettanti from the Bohemian Club," "millionaries from the Pacific Club," and "San Francisco's gilded girls."

In the decade between 1880 and 1890, immigration to the U.S. topped five million (U.S. Census 1890), and both cities felt the impact. New York became a sea of people. "One may find for the asking an Italian, a German, a French, African, Spanish, Jewish, and Chinese colony," wrote Jacob A. Riis in 1890. San Francisco was also inundated with immigrants, who settled in Tar Flat, an aptly-named slum.

Industrialization created jobs, albeit grueling work, which was usually underpaid and often dangerous. Government was run by "machine" as well; the Tweed ring was exposed by the young New York Times in 1871 only to be replaced by Tammany Hall, another political machine. California government was controlled by "liquor bosses" (Bullough 1979), who tampered with election returns to defeat the women's suffrage referenda (Stanton, Anthony, and Gage 1881, V. II, p. 889). Like the Times, the Chronicle also "led in civic campaigns and political clean-up movements" (Emery and Emery 1984).

The Times and Chronicle of 1885, then, were comparable newspapers in comparable cities. Differences in the newspapers' portrayal of the sexes can be assumed to represent a shift in social perception resulting from the altered lifestyles attached to westward expansion.

Types of Articles

A total of 180 stories were randomly selected pertaining to women or men 18 years of age or older. In order to avoid confusing the definitions of "East" and "West," stories about eastern events were not included in the San Francisco Chronicle sample and vice versa for the Times. The Mississippi River was designated as the boundary between the two halves of the country.

Before selecting stories, the categories of articles to be sampled from had to be defined. Holsti (1969) notes that in content analyses of modern newspapers, front-page news is often separated from other articles and hard news from editorial, social, or business news. Yet, Tuchman, Daniels, and Benet (1978) note that modern women's news is not likely to appear on front pages or in "hard news" stories because it is "separately and unequally reported."

Preliminary investigation of the newspapers, however, led to inclusion of articles where either women or men appeared as the central actor(s) in both hard news and human interest stories, since the two categories were indistinguishable in 1885. For example, "all the news..." that the Times found "...fit to print" included the following: "A laundress and her dog tackle Mr. and Mrs. Sorakichi" described the efforts of a woman weakened by malaria to collect payment for partial completion of a batch of laundry. Since Mr. Sorakichi was "a Japanese wrestler," the laundrywoman brought her "little dog" along to assist. All parties were injured in the affray.

The Times story "A Negro turning white -- The queer case which is exciting Macon's colored citizens" described a black man who developed large white spots "all over his body" and proclaimed (in the words of the Times) that "de Lawd done 'termined to make white folk outen de niggers."

Chronicle headlines included "Shipping white babies -- measures taken to prevent their being sent abroad;" "Mistaken identity -- an Oswego man divorced from a woman he never married;" "A thieving clerk -- Nathan Rosenfeld's fast living causes him to steal;" and "The Baron De Bonnemains -- How he married the daughter of a rich tailor."

The stories sampled were taken from this blended category of hard news and human interest. "Society" news was eliminated because then, as now, such stories did not represent the general public. Editorials were not considered either, since they rarely consisted of reportorial accounts, often taking the form of homilies. There were editorials, for example, on such topics as "How the girls play mischief with the theological students."

Representative Sampling Techniques

Stemple (1959) suggests sampling a publication by constructing a composite "month" from an entire year of publication. Using randomly generated numbers, stories from four Mondays, four Tuesdays, and so forth, were chosen, one from each quarter of the year. This technique prevents bias from periodic phenomena like the "summer news slump."

In the newspaper issues thus selected, there were 45 Chronicle stories about women, and 211 Times stories. The Times articles were narrowed once more by discarding all but forty-five (every fourth story, with a remainder of thirty-one discarded at random). It was necessary to obtain separate articles about men because preliminary examination revealed a journalistic tendency to portray the object of a story differently from auxiliary characters, regardless of sex. Stories about men were selected by choosing the article of similar length that was closest on the page to each story about women.

Measuring Attitudes through Language Choices

Studies of the portrayal of women in media during the "television years" have focused on enumeration: How many women are portrayed? How many women's occupations are portrayed? How many dominant female roles appear?[5]

Counting occupations alone was deemed unsuitable for this study because so few occupations were open to women a century ago; teaching, farming, working as domestic helpers, and working in the mills were the chief formal occupations of women between 1885 and 1910 (Gordon and Buhle 1971).

A related approach developed by linguists is counting "signifiers," the nouns chosen to "signify" a woman or man. Signifiers have been examined in the English language and dictionaries (Faust 1970; Barron 1971; One 1971; Lakoff 1975; Nilsen et al 1977), other Romance languages (Conners 1971), textbooks (Burr et al 1972), and contemporary social communication (Thorne et al 1983; Eble 1972; Hirschman 1974; Kramer 1975). A similar means of analysis seems appropriate for the present study. Holsti (1969) notes that "the most widely used method of measuring characteristics of content is frequency, in which every occurrence of a given attribute is tallied." This allows differentiation between a fleeting reference and an overwhelming emphasis. In this case, all nouns and adjectives describing women and men were counted and recorded; word usage was then compared. We refer to these nouns and adjectives as "descriptors."

In addition to this primary methodology, a second measure was employed to compare sex roles in the East and West. The word samples mentioned above were first grouped in S.I. Hayakawa's "factual, inferential, judgmental" categories by two independent raters.[6] The words were then grouped by categories traditionally associated with sex-role stereotyping: economic role, familial role, personality descriptors, physical appearance descriptors, or "other."

RESULTS

The many word tabulations that comprise the results of this research should be interpreted in the context of the period, as it was depicted by the articles selected. The year 1885 was a vibrant, tumultuous time of changes brought on by the industrial revolution and westward expansion.

In New York, the delivery of the Statue of Liberty was reported, along with the sufferings of the tired and poor it welcomed to this country. Immigrant labor was absorbed by the mills and the sweatshops. News stories frequently reported tragedies in the tenements, domestic brawls, street fights, suicides, and murders. Madness was a prevalent topic. One woman threw three of her children from the window of a brownstone; she said she was having a nightmare. A man was forcibly removed from a courtroom for making noises "like the chuck of a gray squirrel;" to a marshall, he explained that he was overwrought because "fifty thousand barbers were after his blood."

San Francisco was changing from a wild west boom town to a modern metropolis. Troops were dispatched to protect Indians from "lawless whites" in December of 1885. Nearly every issue of the Chronicle in the sample made some reference to white slavery and "trafficking in white babies." Chinese men who kept Chinese women as slaves in the

city were also occasionally the subject of newspaper articles (and of raids by angry Presbyterian women's groups).

Attitudes and problems with sex roles were directly illustrated in some of the stories. The Times' "Brutal to his family" and the Chronicle's "Driven insane by cruel husbands" headlines reflected a world where the majority of domestic violence was precipitated by men against women.

Articles in both papers revealed presumptions about the social constraints of women's sex roles, through surprised or disapproving attitudes when these behavioral norms were ignored: The Times ran "Tramp found to be girl" and "Assaulted by his mother" (with a carving knife) in this editorial tone. The Chronicle mockingly described "A Modern Portia -- A woman accused of assault conducts her own case."

The articles also depicted women's efforts to expand the limits of acceptable behavior. The following New York Times article is particularly interesting because it illustrates women successfully engaging in the socially unacceptable behavior of acting as an organized work force, while otherwise overemphasizing the accepted "behavioral vocabulary" of feminine roles.

Captive of Pretty Strikers

> Eighty weavers, lately employed at the Ammsdown Woolen Mills at Passaic, N.J., are on a strike. Yesterday morning, when they neared the mill to

> see if they would be taken on again at their terms, they were warned off by a foreman, who had been sent to caution them against venturing on the company's property. He was quickly and quietly surrounded by 40 or 50 of the girls, and, when he turned to enter the mill again found himself hemmed completely in by a crowd of laughing, merry girls, who began calling him 'pet names,' entreating him to stay, and in fact preventing him from moving. In vain he protested that he would be late, they kept him in his novel and not altogether unpleasing captivity for half an hour before they would release him, and when he at last scampered off into the mill he was followed by a hearty round of cheers. The girls expect to be taken on again today.

The Chronicle article below reflects another attempt to expand societal perceptions of sex-roles. This story, like the one above, is presented in its entirety:

An Old Maid's View

> How do you know that the bachelors could marry the old maids if they wanted to? If you think the old maids are all on the anxious seat to marry, and that the old bachelors can get them for the asking, you are mistaken. Most maiden ladies over 30 are single from choice and not from compunction, as you seem to imagine.

The types of stories and the prose styles used to relate them are similar in both newspapers, not the stuff of modern journalism, but illustrative of the attitudes of the era. The quantitative results provide insight into how these attitudes were reflected in word choices and whether there were differences between the two newspapers.

Primary Quantitative Results: Signifers

In general, western women were given more attention as significant, describable entities in the press than eastern women, when compared with their male counterparts. In sample stories that had similar lengths for men and women, this was evidenced in the number of times each was described, and the diversity of vocabulary used.

In the Times sample, there were 667 uses of nouns and adjectives (descriptors) describing women and 834 for men. The Chronicle sample used 595 descriptors for women and 579 for men. Note that the Times used 20 percent fewer words to describe women than men, while the Chronicle used a slightly greater number for women.

The variety of vocabulary describing women was also comparatively greater in the West, where journalists used 151 different words for women and 191 different words for men (variance of 40 words). In the East, 145 different words describing women were used compared to 207 different words for men (variance of 62).

In the same sense that a wide variety of Eskimo words for snow reflects a detailed understanding of this substance,[7] one could infer that a comparatively larger vocabulary reflects a more detailed concept of women and therefore the

potential for greater descriptive accuracy with less stereotyping. The limited vocabulary and word count that restricted eastern journalists' abilities to describe woman as complex, active entities led them to describe activities and events in terms of auxiliary male characters. An eastern woman's identity was more likely to be defined through the actions of the people around her.

Another noticeable trait of the data was the types of nouns selected. Because men were more often -- and more variously -- employed, a man could be described as "Mr. Thus-and-so" or as a "carpet weaver," a "taxidermist," or a "fruit vender," depending upon circumstances.

Men's economic roles tended to be described in simple factual terms, like "merchant," "paymaster," or "barber," while depictions of women's economic roles included emotionally loaded signifiers like "chorus girl," or "woman of the world." Even occupations where a woman might earn a legitimate living were sometimes described in belittling language, according to linguist Conners (1971); a man was a "laundryman" or "janitor," while a woman was a "laundress" or "janitress." Connors notes that "individual feminine agentives and suffixes have repeatedly taken on derogatory or facetious connotations." In general, far fewer nouns for economic role were available to describe women.

Among the frequently recurring nouns, Times and Chronicle reporters exhibited considerable differences in the choices they made. The Times reporter, faced with choosing a descriptor for a female character, chose the word "woman" twice as often as the word "lady." A Chronicle reporter, however, selected the word "woman" six times as often as the word "lady." (In contrast, references to "man" were seven times as likely as "gentleman" in the Times and ten times as likely in the Chronicle.) This is significant because "women" and "men" refer to a person's gender, whereas "lady" and "gentleman" tend to imply a sex role defined by norms of "courtesy."

Similarly the use of the word "girl" was more common in the East. For example, the headline "Manufacturer will lock out 4,000 men, girls, and boys" described a glass factory where adult women were employed. The Times described women as girls 26 times compared to 18 times in the Chronicle. Using "boy" to describe adult men was reserved mainly for the recently emancipated slaves.

The findings described to this point have depicted a tendency in the West to select descriptors for women that had a more serious tone, with less reliance on stereotypes. At first glance, examination of the ways in which the Times and Chronicle used proper names (Table 1) appears to reverse this trend.

Names used ranged from job-title prefixes like "Farmer John Jones" to first name only references like "Mary." Surprisingly, the East made 19 percent less frequent use of the courtesy titles "Miss" and "Mrs.," marital status indicators, which are closely linked to sex-role stereotyping. Closer examination, however, shows that most of the 19 percent had been converted to first-name-only references. This means of naming was rarely used for women in the West and was used for men only in condescending descriptions of minority races. Hence, western reporters were not as strongly influenced by traditional sex roles to choose condescending or degrading nomenclature for women.

The complete absence of job titles attached to women's names in either sample is not representative of the fact that some women did work and earn money as employees. Apparently, journalists were unable to directly associate a woman's personal identity with her economic role, even though some articles did describe women as "weaver," "teacher," "Salvation Army captain," and so forth. It is interesting to note that job title was not used as frequently to describe men in the West, indicating a tendancy to liberate men's personal identities from strong association with their economic roles in society.

Physical and racial signifiers were rare in both the East and West. Physical descriptors occurred in 2 percent of the

women's samples and 1 percent of the men's samples. Racial descriptors occurred in less than 1 percent of the women's samples, in 3 percent of the Times men's sample, and in 6 percent of the Chronicle men's sample.

In summary, journalists at the Chronicle had a stronger tendancy to use the word "woman," full names, and full names with courtesy titles to refer to women. Journalists at the Times were more likely to use "lady," "girl," and first names in reference to women. Neither newspaper used job titles to preface women's names, and descriptors of women in occupational roles were rare, as were racial signifiers. Economic role, a frequent means of describing men, was rarely used to describe women.

The Chronicle used an equal number of words to describe women as men, while the Times used 20 percent fewer words to describe women as men. The Chronicle also used a proportionately greater variety of words than the Times to describe women.

Secondary Quantitative Results: Categorizations

After examination of individual words and word groups, the descriptors were categorized according to two parameters. The first was the amount of subjectivity and emotionality attached to a word, which was established by assigning it to

one of S.I. Hayakawa's three categories "factual," "inferential" or "judgmental." The second parameter was the proportions of words that described lifestyle issues traditionally used to define sex roles: economic role, familial role, personality, physical appearance, or "other." A change in the proportions of emphasis would indicate a change not only in journalistic attitudes but also in the subject material available in the surrounding culture.

These categories, however, varied surprisingly little between the East and West for either women or men, as can be seen in Tables 2 through 5.

Familial role was the primary category with which the journalist of 1885 could describe women, occurring in 44 percent of the eastern and 40 percent of the western samples for women, compared with 1 percent for men on both coasts. This reflects a slight improvement for women in the West. When viewed in the context of women, men on either coast had a very weak familial identity.

Women were infrequently described in terms of economic roles in the East (3 percent) and the West (5 percent). Although the western percentage was almost twice that of the East, this was not as large an increase as the available literature would suggest.

Economic roles were used to describe men in 34 percent of the words in the East and 29 percent in the West.

Use of words describing appearance and personality represented a very small part of the total lexicon for both women and men. These were 11 percent for eastern women, 12 percent for western women, and 6 percent for men on either coast.

Generally, the use of emotionally-loaded inferential and judgmental words was uniformly greater in the West than the East and uniformly greater for women than for men.

The significant numerical findings described above can be summarized as follows:

INDIVIDUAL SIGNIFIERS:

- A similar number of words was used to describe women and men in the West; fewer words and a narrower vocabulary in otherwise equal stories were used to describe women in the East, when compared with men.
- Women in the East were much more likely to be referred to in condescending or stereotypical terms, such as first name only or as "ladies" or "girls," than were women in the West.
- Men's identities were less often defined by economic roles in the West.

DESCRIPTOR CATEGORIES

- Economic role was rarely used to describe eastern women, and only a little more frequently applied to women in the West.
- Familial role remained a primary descriptor for women in both locations, though it was slightly

de-emphasized for women in the West.

- Physical appearance and personality descriptors were somewhat infrequent in all descriptions, women and men, East and West.
- Proportions of descriptors categorized by economic role, familial role, personality, and appearance were generally quite similar in the East and West for both sexes.

CONCLUSION

The historical evidence found in diaries and letters indicates that the narrow roles allowed by the popular "cult of true womanhood" were far exceeded by some western women and that in the process certain social burdens were lifted from the shoulders of men. Yet the findings of this study show that these occurrences were somewhat isolated and idiosyncratic in nature.

Numerical analysis of INDIVIDUAL SIGNIFIERS indicates that the pioneer experience did serve to broaden societal perceptions and awareness of women as functioning entities, as is evidenced by the greater number and variety of words used to describe women in the West.

Greater awareness appears to have been accompanied by more respect and less condescension, as is revealed by the increased use of first and last names together (with or without courtesy titles) and the shift away from terms like "girl," "ladies," or first name only references. However

much the westward expansion broadened awareness and respect of women as functioning entities, the CATEGORIZATIONS OF WORDS indicate the functions women performed had not changed much.

Emphasis on economic roles in the West did shift, becoming slightly less common for men and slightly more common for women. There were fewer uses of familial descriptors for women. The magnitude of these changes was not as great as one might infer from the accounts reported in journals and diaries. The authors consider these distributions of categories significant indicators since they not only reflect journalistic attitudes, but are built on the story opportunities presented by the social structure of the times.

In summary, the greater environmental stresses of western migration, which necessitated a broader distribution of survival activities between the sexes, influenced journalists to write about women in more serious and respectful tones but the topics of discourse remained essentially the same.

EPILOGUE

This work helps to fill a void in our understanding of the past. As Schlesinger (1981) writes, "Women have constituted

the most spectacular casualty of traditional history." Without recording the lessons of the past, we are in danger of re-embarking on old crusades for social advancement as though they were virgin efforts. "Each generation of women believes itself to be faced with the burden of doing everything for the first time," says Russ (1983).

The major goal of this research was to reach beyond available personal accounts of westward expansion and the pioneering of our foremothers, to measure the magnitude of their impact on sex-role stereotyping. Our findings suggest that examples of some women successfully operating outside the constraints of social norms are not compelling enough to alter the yardstick against which all women are measured. Perhaps true social equality is achieved on an individual basis and cultural change occurs when each member of a group learns to assert and expect this freedom.

END NOTES

1 The idea of the "equalizing influence of the American frontier" is commonly attributed to American historian Frederick Jackson Turner, 1861-1879, author of The Frontier in American History and many other works.

2 For example, see works by Ross (1936), Jones (1972), Jakes (1969), Beasley (1974), Bridges (1975), Endres (1975), Beasley (1967a and 1976b), Beasley and Silver (1977), Marzolf (1977), Blanchard (1978), and unauthored publications from the Denver Post (1950) and the Pacific Printer (1913).

3 The New York Times book Women: Their Changing Roles (1973), edited by Janeway, does catalogue numerous articles from the 1860's onward, but simply offers them to the reader without narrative.

4 Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana had entered the Union without women's suffrage before 1885. Western territories that entered the Union without suffrage after 1885 included the Dakotas in 1889, Oklahoma in 1906, and New Mexico in 1912.

5 Among them, Head (1954), DeFleur (1964), Bardwick and Schumann (1967), Katzman (1972), Downing (1974), Gerbner and Gross (1974), Tuchman, Daniels, and Benet (1978), Tuchman (1979), and the Task Force on Sex Stereotyping in the Broadcast Media (1983).

6 Percentage of agreement between two raters on Hayakawa categories was 92.3. Disagreement on subject categories was arbitrated on the basis of American Heritage Dictionary definitions, e.g., "crook" becomes an economic role by virtue of the definition: "A person who makes he sic living by dishonest methods." See Tables 1 through 4 for rating results.

7 The Eskimo Indians have more than two dozen words for "snow" (Kirk 1978) showing a much broader concept of the permutations and variations of snow than inhabitants of a temperate climate, who might stereotype all white frozen precipitation as "snow" or "slush."

TABLE 1. PROPER NAME USAGE

	N.Y. TIMES		S.F. CHRONICLE	
	women	men	women	men
Courtesy Titles	137	84	133	46
(Miss, Mrs., Mr. Jones)	61%	22%	80%	22%
Job-title Names	0	94	0	30
(Lawyer Mary Jones)		24%		15%
First and Last Name	43	74	27	57
(Mary Jones)	19%	19%	16%	27%
First Name Only	42	3	6	8
(Mary)	19%	1%	4%	4%
Last Name Only	0	128	0	65
(Jones)		33%		31%
Courtesy Title/Spouse Name	2	0	1	0
(Mrs. John Jones)	1%		1%	
TOTAL	224	383	167	206
	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 2. SAN FRANCISCO WOMEN

	Factual	Inferential	Judgmental	Total
Economic	10 signifiers Count: 10 Percent: 3	3 signifiers Count: 5 Percent: 1	8 signifiers Count: 10 Percent: 2	31 (5%)
Familial	12 signifiers Count: 235 Percent: 39	2 signifiers Count: 3 Percent: 1	0 signifiers Count: 0 Percent: 0	238 (40%)
Personality	1 signifier Count: 1 Percent: 0	16 signifiers Count: 17 Percent: 3	22 signifiers Count: 25 Percent: 4	43 (7%)
Appearance	3 signifiers Count: 3 Percent: 1	7 signifiers Count: 9 Percent: 2	8 signifiers Count: 17 Percent: 3	29 (5%)
Other	187 signifiers Count: 187 Percent: 31	18 signifiers Count: 44 Percent: 7	5 signifiers Count: 23 Percent: 4	254 (43%)
TOTAL	442 (74%)	78 (13%)	75 (13%)	595

TABLE 3. NEW YORK WOMEN

	Factual	Inferential	Judgmental	Total
Economic	8 signifiers Count: 10 Percent: 1	5 signifiers Count: 6 Percent: 1	2 signifiers Count: 3 Percent: 0	19 (3%)
Familial	11 signifiers Count: 290 Percent: 43	4 signifiers Count: 5 Percent: 1	1 signifiers Count: 1 Percent: 0	296 (44%)
Personality	2 signifiers Count: 3 Percent: 0	15 signifiers Count: 16 Percent: 2	25 signifiers Count: 29 Percent: 4	48 (7%)
Appearance	5 signifiers Count: 6 Percent: 1	6 signifiers Count: 6 Percent: 1	9 signifiers Count: 15 Percent: 2	27 (4%)
Other	26 signifiers Count: 205 Percent: 31	18 signifiers Count: 47 Percent: 7	7 signifiers Count: 25 Percent: 4	277 (42%)
TOTAL	514 (77%)	80 (12%)	73 (11%)	667

TABLE 4. SAN FRANCISCO MEN

	Factual	Inferential	Judgmental	Total
Economic	60 signifiers Count: 153 Percent: 26	9 signifiers Count: 10 Percent: 2	4 signifiers Count: 4 Percent: 1	167 (29%)
Familial	7 signifiers Count: 6 Percent: 1	0 signifiers Count: 0 Percent: 0	0 signifiers Count: 0 Percent: 0	6 (1%)
Personality	2 signifiers Count: 3 Percent: 1	7 signifiers Count: 7 Percent: 1	17 signifiers Count: 21 Percent: 4	31 (5%)
Appearance	2 signifiers Count: 3 Percent: 1	2 signifiers Count: 2 Percent: 0	0 signifiers Count: 0 Percent: 0	5 (1%)
Other	44 signifiers Count: 301 Percent: 52	25 signifiers Count: 54 Percent: 9	11 signifiers Count: 15 Percent: 3	370 (64%)
TOTAL	466 (80%)	73 (13%)	40 (7%)	579

TABLE 5. NEW YORK MEN

	Factual	Inferential	Judgmental	Total
Economic	70 signifiers Count: 276 Percent:	5 signifiers Count: 5 Percent: 1	4 signifiers Count: 5 Percent: 1	286 (34%)
Familial	5 signifiers Count: 15 Percent: 2	0 signifiers Count: 0 Percent: 0	0 signifiers Count: 0 Percent: 0	15 (2%)
Personality	1 signifier Count: 1 Percent: 0	10 signifiers Count: 12 Percent: 1	20 signifiers Count: 20 Percent: 2	33 (4%)
Appearance	8 signifiers Count: 8 Percent: 1	6 signifiers Count: 6 Percent: 1	2 signifiers Count: 2 Percent: 0	16 (2%)
Other	38 signifiers Count: 421 Percent: 51	22 signifiers Count: 43 Percent: 5	11 signifiers Count: 20 Percent: 2	484 (59%)
TOTAL	721 (87%)	66 (8%)	47 (6%)	834

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